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dorses in his preface, but which is so overworked in these days in books of this kind. Everybody is a general reader; and on the other hand, the general reader who derives most profit from such works is the reader who is stimulated by them to examine and, if necessary, to correct their conclusions in the light of the original authorities. If Professor Davis feared that the references which he has omitted might offend the eye of general readers, he might have collected them in an appendix. This addition would have enormously enhanced the value of the work for the student of this period.

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LORDS OF INDUSTRY. By H. D. Lloyd. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910. Pp. 239. MAZZINI AND OTHER ESSAYS. Same author and publishers. Pp. 355.

These two volumes are collections of magazine articles, papers, and addresses by the late Henry D. Lloyd, the most recent being dated 1903 and the earliest going back to 1881. A wide range of topics is covered, but the fundamental note, an impassioned appeal for democracy, more democracy, and yet again democracy, is maintained throughout.

In the "Lords of Industry," Mr. Lloyd flays the monopolists of coal, oil, sugar, wheat, and railroads in the same trenchant fashion that gave vogue to his famous "Wealth Against Commonwealth." Many of the papers republished in this volume antedate by several years the period and even the name of muck-raking. It would not be fair to place them wholly in that category, however. They possess a brilliance of style, a sustained cogency of argument, and a background of honest conviction that very few of the hasty modern school of exposure and vilification even remotely approach. Lloyd's pages sparkle with epigram and are full of quotable passages. Orators especially will find rich plunder in his "Lords of Industry." Characteristic if not always convincing are the following, although any choice from so great an abundance must seem invidious: "The buccaneer looked for gold, and is poor; the Puritan sought freedom and is rich." . . . According to "the New York code of legal ethics . . . if a lawyer is not a judge he need not be a gentleman, and if he is a judge he need not be investigated." . . .

"Private property is sacred, but plunder must not be private. A philosopher of the commune said, 'Property is theft.' American self-government must have a philosophy to say, Theft shall not be property." . . . "Exchanges are the creameries of the world of labor." . . . Of one of these "price factories" he says, "It deals in brokers' eggs as well as hens' eggs, and has all the approved facilities to enable it to count and sell the chickens that are not yet hatched out of eggs that are not yet laid." . . . "It is the code of honor among wolves that no high-minded lamb will squeal." . . . "The cornerer is a middle-man who leaves nothing for the end-men." . . . "Free competition could be let run only in a community where every one had learned to say and act, 'I am the state.'" . . . "Morals and values rise and fall together." . . . "If one people are fit for liberty, all people are fit for it, because no people are fit for anything else." . . . "The coöperation of all for the benefit of the few we are going to put into the rag-bag where Reform keeps the other old clothes of history." . . . "In the days of honest competition there was a certain rough justice in the maxim, 'The devil take the hindmost.' The kind of competition the monopolies give us demands a change in the wording. 'Nowadays the devil ought to take the foremost.'" . . . "The rotten-ripe prosperity of America has bred a swarm of millionaire microbes, pestilence germs of plutocracy, the worst kind of grip, which are eating out the heart of our liberties." . . . "A country in which the people have at the elections only the right to be crucified between two thieves,—who are not crucified,—is not the Republic of Washington." . . . "The mother-wit of the people knows that prices are not cheap which produce ten-ply millionaires." . . . "The one thing the tyrant, in economics and politics, can always be sure of accomplishing is the education of his own destroyer." . . . "Though it is the human nature of the individual to seek monopoly, it is the human nature of the many to defeat it." . . . "The essence of Democracy is that the Democrat submits to no power of which he is not a constituent part and partner." . . . "Democracy found that the only way to regulate kings was to make every citizen a king." . . . Luncheons of the coal monopolists at which they entered upon gentlemen's agreements are polished off by Mr. Lloyd as cases of "collation and collusion."

Vituperation is not argument, although at times it is mighty

good campaign material. It would be grossly unfair to characterize Mr. Lloyd's work as entirely of this sort. Much of it is, however. The plodding processes of the economists, whom, following Ruskin, he cordially despises, would have given a much keener temper to the blade with which he thrusts and slashes. At any rate one can say that Mr. Lloyd's arguments are for the most part distinctly negative in character. They are critical and destructive, seldom constructive except in vague proposals for greater democracy, a new religion, public ownership and operation. In his paper on *The National Ownership of Coal Mines*, dating from 1903, Mr. Lloyd presents a tremendous indictment against the mismanagement of the coal monopolists to which one cannot help giving a large measure of assent. But there is not the slightest consideration of the difficulties which national ownership and operation might entail beyond the single question-begging sentence: "Once these mines are in the hands of the public and we are certain they will be operated without interruption and without extortion, there will be plenty of time to discuss at our leisure all the other questions involved." The proposal to "First seize the mines, then pay for them" is also demagogic and unworthy the high ethical sense manifested in the rest of Mr. Lloyd's work.

Regarding the future of America there is a noticeable vacillation between pessimism and optimism which becomes the more apparent as one turns from essay to essay. Possibly this would scarcely be marked by one who had read them separately as published, but brought together within the covers of a single volume the effect is curious, almost startling. Mr. Lloyd was fundamentally right in his contention that the menace of privilege must be met in this country. Also in his constantly reiterated statement that the tremendous importance of the issue is not yet fully perceived. Decidedly we need alarmists to awaken men and to drive this conviction home. Yet from the calmer scientific point of view one cannot help wondering whether Mr. Lloyd ever stopped to weigh the significance of the coolness with which the great mass of Americans take the cry of "chains and slavery" with which he and others constantly assail them. Why is it "that in no other country do the faces of the people show so much intelligence and cheerfulness as in America," and this in spite of the fact that nowadays there is "a King George in every important industry taxing the people

without representation or consent." Certainly there was room for another essay on this subject, and possibly for the determination of a consistent outlook, whether pessimistic or optimistic, upon the future.

The papers presented in the volume entitled "Mazzini and Other Essays" are too various for discussion as a whole. Yet here also Mr. Lloyd's democratic conviction is never forgotten for a moment. He is a hero worshiper of the most extreme type provided that the hero is a champion of the masses. Mazzini, of course, is dealt with most sympathetically. Mr. Lloyd's fervor even carried him to the absurd one-sidedness manifest in the following statement: "The trickery, the treachery, the butcheries, with which the Italians were robbed of their Republic by the conspiracies of the House of Savoy, with the traitors within and tyrants without, is a chapter of cruelty and duplicity to be matched only by the conspiracy by the kings of Europe and the renegade aristocracy of France to crush the French Revolution." On the other hand, Mr. Lloyd's essay on *Emerson's Wit and Humor* is by far the most felicitous and the least exaggerated of all the papers in this volume. The writer seems to have been influenced as much by the sanity as by the humor of his great subject. The eighth paper, which discusses the question, *Is Personal Development the Best Social Policy?* involves an attempt to reconcile individualism with collectivism which should prove of some interest to students of ethics. In a final paper, entitled *No Mean City*, Mr. Lloyd sketches his Utopia in gracious but rather fantastic outline. Among other things there were "statistics"—[oh, blessed word]—"to show that every idle man if put at work, besides supporting himself, could procure enough in less than three years to replace all the capital advanced in the shape of machines, buildings, material, to employ him." Also it was found that "all the cotton cloth needed in *No Mean City* was easily made in a few hours each week by the senior class of the high school, as a part of its study of fibres and machinery; and so with many other things."

Mr. Lloyd's literary executors deserve great credit for the discrimination shown in selection and the form of presentation of these two volumes. While they will add but few new points to the gospel from which Mr. Lloyd never wavered, they deserve to survive for literary if for no other reasons.

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